31: Hofmann--603-604 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosans
116, 634, 669, 697, 177.63 Japanese
636.63

In the house of the governor, Count Sakuma... I had the opportunity to meet the chief magistrates of the various provinces. Among these there was not one who did not speak either English or German. All of them had been sent to Europe by the government of Formosa to complete their studies there. In every respect, the achievements of the Japanese colonial administration are most impressive, and they become even more so if one takes into consideration the conditions under which the Japanese first took over the administration of the island. In 1895 there was complete anarchy among the Chinese elements of the population. There were organized bands of guerilla soldiers in all the regions that were accessible to foreigners, so that before the administration could proceed to the task of suppressing the Malayans in the mountain regions, [604] it was necessary to break the resistance of the Chinese. I saw some of the leaders of these guerilla bands, who had not been condemmed to capital punishment, in the large reformatory in the capital. There the prisoners were engaged in occupations such as cabinet making, in which they showed a great deal of skill and understanding.

621 for tax collection, conscription and cases of capital crime which were handled directly by the prefectural government. In this respect the situation in Formosa under the Manchu regime was the same as that on the Mainland. Within the village, the elder was elected, and approved by the local government. He had some assistants under him. Public affairs and minor crimes were decided and disposed of by the village elders. At times the new settlers drew up rules for the administration of local affairs, and affairs for common interest were discussed and decided upon by the council of householders.

648 Manchu control of Formosa was always
631 tenuous. Uprisings were frequent, and after the first quarter of the 18th century internecine wars
669 occurred incessantly. As the government was not strong enough to keep peace and order, self-defense was left to kinship groups or groups of the people of the same native town. In this situation the influential kinship group was very significant. If it was strong, not only could it defend its kinsmen better, but it could even suppress other groups and enjoy various privileges. A strong clan insured survival and prosperity, and this was the reason why an abur 'ance of male descendants became the ideal of life among the Formosan Chinese. This
[161] may account for the enormous rate of natural growth of Formosa's population which is still going on unabated. On the other hand, for defense against raids of aborigines and pirates, even the influential clan had to get the co-operation of other people. This led to territorial consolidation within the village.

631 669 As uprisings and clan wars became more frequent and widespread, often nearby villages united to make a league of defense. When one village was raided, a drum or gong would be beaten and the allied neighboring villagers would come to the rescue. To affirm their consolidation, common temples were constructed and common patron gods were worshipped. In rotation each allied village celebrated the yearly festival in honor of the patron god. In each case the allied villagers participated in the festival and feast. The blood tie was represented by the village ancestral temple, the territorial tie was represented by the local patronal god. Usually the worship of local patron gods was more frequent and enthusiastic. Sociologically speaking, it is safe to say that, in spite of the often emphasized Chinese ancestral worship and family spirit, the principle of locality took precedence over the principle of blood relationship during the Manchu period. As far as the mass of Formosan Chinese is concerned, this is true. However, in the case of a smaller number of the upper ruling class, the blood tie was still the dominant principle.

7. Breakdown of Folk Society.

612 178 631 Consciousness of the blood tie and locality bond was very strong among the Formosans in former times. When two persons found they had the same surname, they would consider each other as brothers or cousins. When a person introduced himself, he usually added his native

48: Chen E-4 (no date) 1955 AD1 Formosa AD1

corrected, the standardized death rate of the Japanese in Taiwan was 13.34 per 1,000, still far lower than the rate of 20.27 per 1,000 for their brothers in Japan proper[5]. The rate of infant mortality of the Japanese in Taiwan was also comparable to that of most advanced western countries. From this we can see that Japanese in Taiwan were under tremendously favorable circumstances. Their excessive benefits were enjoyed only at the expense of the land in which they lived.

Social change in Taiwan after the restoration in 1945 will help us to understand the character of colonial type of change. Under Japanese rule, manufacturing industry had attained a fair development, but it produced mostly processed agricultural goods or semi-manufactured goods, and finished consumer's goods were mostly imported from Japan. Fertilizer and textiles were two main import items. If the production of 1941 is taken as base, after the restoration, the production of textiles increased ten times and fertilizer increased five times by 1953 (7: p. 26). This is a sign that the economy of Taiwan has outstripped its colonial and dependent character and has become an autonomous system. In respect to education, the enrollment of Taiwanese school age children in primary school had attained 80% by the later years of Japanese occupation, but the secondary and higher education were very poor. After the restoration, if we take the figure of 1937 as a base and compare it with 1953, the growth of the number of students was as follows. Primary school: more than doubled; vocational and normal school: more than three times; middle school: six and an half times; college and junior college: more than eight times; university: more then twenty one times (7: p. 302). In order to rectify the defects of the colonial era, higher education was especially promoted.

The Japanese are no exception to the rule that each nation struggles for its own benefit. Now that the colonial era is at an end, it is our task to analyze the elements of social change in that era. Some useful references for planning of further social development may be drawn from our analysis.

III. SOCIAL CHANGE IN TAIWAN

Some aspects of social change which relate directly to population change, will be discussed in the following section.

7. *Political Background*

It is self-evident that population growth is deeply influenced by peace and war. The Japanese occupation of Taiwan in 1895 was met with a series of severe revolts. Between 1895 and 1901, the city of Taipei, the capital, was raided twice, the city of Taichung was also raided twice. Other military posts, local governmental offices and posts of military police were raided more than fifty times. A bigger uprising was suppressed in 1902, and after that several years passed in comparative tranquility. An insurrection broke out in 1907, and there were seven revolts between 1907 and 1915. During this period there were frequent uprisings against economic exploitation, as when

Note 5: Tachi, M.: Lecture on Population Problems, Tokio, 1943, p. 201.

48: Chen E-4 (no date) 1955 AD1 Formosa AD1

people were forced to sell their land cheaply to sugar corporations. The influence of the revolution lead by Dr. Sun Yat-sen on the mainland was also felt. After 1916, the uprisings were suppressed by a forceful police system. Since 1921 the revolts of the aborigines have been largely mitigated.[6] After the 1920's peace was generally preserved in Taiwan, and the resistance of the people changed gradually from revolt by force to organized political and social movements.

Peoples' attitudes are much influenced by peace and war. Disturbances do not give the people the needed security of life and property. They must keep a cautious and watchful attitude at all times. It is impossible to invest the surplus of their production for the extension of their business. They have to exchange the surplus of production for gold and silver, and bury it under the ground for safety. Direct and immediate self-sustainance was their main daily concern, and the idea of future development was unfamiliar to them. This society is approximataly the same as the "militaristic type of society" defined by Herbert Spencer, and no development can be expected from it. In peace time people need not spend their time and energy defending themselves against thieves and bandits. They can concentrate their strength on their work. They can extend their business and gradually plan for the future. Again, we may use Spencer's definition and classify this state as an "industrial type of society". Once established, its development will be accelerated. In Taiwan, after peace and order were established by the colonial government police system, production was extended, and the population gradually increased.

The various kinds of social change in Taiwan were basically influenced by the colonial policy of Japan. Before World War I the policy was typically colonial. After the war, the spirit of democracy permeated the whole world. In Japan, serious social problems broke out. Democratic and Socialistic movements likewise became widespread. Social movement of the modern type among students and young people broke out in China at about the same time. Under the influence of both China and Japan, political, social, and cultural movements started in Taiwan for the first time around 1920. At first the colonial government tried to suppress them by force, but the current was too strong and the government had to change its policy somewhat. From around 1920, the policy of assimilation was adopted, and there were some improvements in administration. Though the improvement was limited in character, it had a fairly significant effect on Taiwan, and its results were reflected in population data. From 1926 on the system of modern Taiwan was generally molded, and after that date population growth was speeded up.

Japan started her invasion of Manchuria in 1931, intruded in northern China in 1937, and then struck Pearl Harbor in 1941. As the war for expansion was extended, Taiwan was considered a strategic base, and the colonial policy had to change again.

Note 6: Yanaihara, T.: Taiwan under Imperialism. 1929, Tokio, pp. 241-242. Shiomi, T.: "Police System and Economy of Taiwan under Japanese Rule". Quarterly of the Bank of Taiwan. Vol. 5, No. 4, 1953, Taipei, pp. 259-261.